

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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## National Committee Meeting.

Last week the first meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist party was held in St. Louis, Mo. Besides the local quorum of St. Louis the committeemen of New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, Washington, Missouri, Illinois, California, New Jersey and Wisconsin were present. Nebraska's committeeman sent a proxy and Utah had two contesting representatives there.

The time before going to press is too short to give a detailed report of the proceedings. We will therefore confine ourselves to a short review.

To begin with, let us state that while it is useless to deny that some little friction exists and dislikes are still lingering from the time when the Socialist Democratic party with headquarters in Chicago was fighting with the Springfield faction, the so-called Kaugaros, yet it is very apparent that the old and bitter factional fight will soon be forgotten entirely and that there will be a new line-up within the party on the question of State Autonomy. The constitution adopted at the Unity convention in Indianapolis provides for considerable state autonomy, that is, for the right of every state having a certain number of locals united in one central organization to conduct its own party affairs without any interference from the national committee.

Section 4 of Article VI reads as follows: "In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least ten local organizations in different parts of such state or territory respectively, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory, and the national committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations."

New this provision, which might be considered as a matter of course in any political party of a democratic or half-democratic commonwealth, is in great contrast with some of the leaders of our party who have grown up in the old De Leon school that believes in a strong centralized "government" and rule. They would like to have an organization somewhere, as the church or lodge place, with dues, stamps, and possibly even with signs and grips to know the "believers" from the "unbelievers."

While such a strict form of organization undoubtedly has its advantages, the history of the American Socialist movement during the last fifty years has proven beyond any doubt that its rigid discipline will never succeed in this country. The strict centralization naturally leads to sectarianism, bossism and splits. This fact was recognized by the Unity convention in Indianapolis (held July 29, 1901), and hence the constitution which was built upon the principle of state autonomy.

Yet there are some men—great and small—who never learn and never forget. And we are sorry to say that a few of our leading Eastern comrades are of that sort. For instance, Max Hayes and James Carey are bitter opponents of state autonomy, while Job Harriman has no love for it. There was a strong tendency in the last meeting of the national committee to crush home rule of states by evading the constitution. In other matters an attempt will be made to enlarge the powers of the national committee through an amendment to the constitution that is to be carried by a referendum. We hope that any and all such amendments will be voted down. It is certainly not fair to begin to tear down the constitution adopted just a few months ago and before the underlying principle has any chance to prove its worthiness.

Yet in spite of the differences of a local nature that were obvious during the entire session of the national committee, the meeting was characterized by hard work and earnest zeal for the welfare of Socialism and the Socialist party. It is no doubt accomplished much by clearing up misunderstandings, by fixing the trades union policy of the national committee and by bringing order into the deranged condition of the finances of the party. The outcome of the session of the national committee will be more unity than we ever have had. If some of its members only try to live up to the spirit of the agreement at the Unity convention in Indianapolis as laid down in the constitution.

Alfred Krupp, manufacturer of guns, is the richest man in Germany, according to the income tax returns. He has an annual income of more than \$5,000,000 marks, and this places him far and away ahead of any other class of rich men in the German Empire. His grandfather, Frederick Krupp, who discovered the secret of making cast steel, out of which the great fortune has been evolved, died in poverty in 1826. The father of Alfred Krupp succeeded to the little foundry in Essen, and he and his son began by making the secret process of transforming steel into the making of cannon—the well-known Krupp guns. The Essen family was of the last half of the Nineteenth century did help greatly in building up the enormous business, the great-

est of its kind in the world. The father died in 1877. Indicative of what an income of \$5,000,000 a year means in Germany, it may be noted that the next richest man is Herr von Thiele-Winckler, the coal master, whose income is 6,000,000 marks, or \$1,500,000 a year. It is needless to say that these German plutocrats are poor orphan boys compared with our American billionaires. And fifty years ago when capitalism had full sway in Western Europe, we had hardly a millionaire in this country.

Present conditions cannot continue very long. We do not pretend to say that we are near the Co-operative Commonwealth, but that one of numerous social and industrial revolutions is coming upon us is manifest. A civilization that can be defined as a system by which wants and appetites are created without affording corresponding opportunities to gratify them, must be unstable, and something is going to be done, and it will be soon. It is to be the dawn of larger liberties than ever before were held, or the twilight of a darker night of oppression for the masses? That is the question that confronts us, and the answer will largely depend upon the intelligence, foresight and honesty displayed by Socialist and Trades union leaders. The masses cannot answer it.

Nobody any longer believes in the panacea for social ills that used to be offered, namely, the election of "good men" to office. "Good men" and plenty have been tried, honestly enough no doubt, to patch up and "regulate." The system makes men what they are. Men are what they are because of the things, ideas, persons and environment by which they have been influenced, and they are corrupted because the system can only be maintained by means in themselves corrupt. So long as the system is here it will find men ready to buy and ready to sell, and the "good men" will be forced to sell or give up their Utopian ideas of "controlling" and "regulating" public businesses conducted for profit by private corporations. When the grab game of monopoly and trust making shall have run its full course and collectivism succeeds the corporation, we shall, of course, want the "good men," but we shall want "good men" plus something else. That something will be a determination and guarantee that "Thou shalt not steal" shall be literally carried out through laws that are just by an administration of the unconscious elements of the universe for the benefit of the conscious. This will require one social co-operative capital in place of many sordid competing capitals. It will require the public ownership and administration of all natural resources and the indispensable utilities of production and exchange.

Judge Wallber's suggestion that Prince Henry be shown the factories and homes of the working class in Milwaukee is a very good one, and we hope it will be carried out by the committee which will show things to the prince. The stamping works and other places similar to them should not be overlooked. Then he should see the homes of our workmen in the Sixth ward, too. He should also be told what percentage of these homes are owned by workmen. And the committeemen might present to the prince a copy of Wisconsin laws for the protection of labor to read in his leisure moments.

Some one has figured out that every Boer in the Transvaal army has cost England his weight in gold, counting 145 pounds as an average weight. And this is the sort of thing that modern statesmen—English and American—think pays. Boers come high, but we hope there will be no reduction in prices. Every dead Boer was worth his weight in gold.

There is a gloomy outlook for the labor of this country as a result of the colonial policy, according to former Gov. George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts. Speaking in Faneuil hall, Boston, last week, he said:

"There are four great interests of labor and production that are to be touched, seriously and adversely when we accept freedom of trade between the United States and the islands named: The sugar interest, the tobacco interest, the hemp culture and the growing of tropical fruits. Our producers of these articles are to be brought into competition with producers who can employ laborers who can live on foods that are less expensive than the meats and breadstuffs which American laborers consume, and which they are accustomed to consume, who do not need fuel nor clothing for warmth, and whose wages are less than 60 per cent. of the wages which are now paid to American laborers. In such a contest the result cannot be doubtful. America must abandon the field, or the laborers from Louisiana to Minnesota, from Florida to Connecticut, must accept the wages that may be paid in Cebu and Luzon. The Sultan of the Sulu Isles would thus find his slave labor upon an equality with the free labor of America, while his harem would be in the enjoyment of a pension from the treasury of the United States."

"The tobacco growers of Connecticut have been assured by the secretary of agriculture that the cultivation of tobacco for cigar wrappers may be continued. This must be a gratifying assurance to Connecticut. The loss of labor and the returns for labor will be followed by a consequent evil in the reduced prices and in the reduced values of all the lands that are now assigned to the culture of sugar, tobacco, hemp and tropical fruits. This catastrophe to labor and to land will extend to labor and to land in every branch of industry, and to every state of the Union."

## Insecurity of the Working Class.

All the advantages of all the new inventions, machines and improvements now mainly go to the small class of capitalists, while on the other hand these very inventions, machines, improvements and labor devices displace human labor and create a steadily increasing army of unemployed, who—starved and hungry—are ever ready to take the places of those who are employed, and who, therefore, still further depress the labor market. It is from this army that the capitalists recruit their "scabs," their "special police," their "deputy sheriffs," their Pinkerton detectives—and some of their most useful ward politicians.

Before the beginning of this, the capitalist era, common laborers in England could live a whole week upon the earnings of four days. Now in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, or anywhere, common laborers can hardly live seven days upon the earnings of six days of much more continuous toil. And in many cases now the laborer is compelled to disrupt his family, and send his wife and children to the shop or the factory. For that is the greatest curse of machinery, or rather of "individualist" monopoly of machinery, that capital can and is coined out of women, and even out of infancy, that women and children can be and are substituted for men. Thus, not alone are men turned into wares, governed by demand and supply, but men are also made to scramble for a scanty living with their wives, sisters and children.

In the cotton and woolen factories of enlightened Massachusetts, women and children now compose two-thirds of the working force. In the workshops of Kichhefer Bros. of Milwaukee are a few foremen and many hundred little boys and girls. Very similar are the conditions in our large cigar and tobacco factories, in the sash and door factories, etc.

Laws against it are of little use, unless the economic conditions of the laboring people are improved by higher wages, to start with. For while it is proven that the wages thus earned by a whole family do not on an average exceed those of the head of the family in occupations where it has not yet become habitual to employ women and children, still this abuse is daily gaining ground.

The larger part of the population—the very part that does all the hard labor—both manual and mental—is now damned to a hell which is without hope and without exemption. They are damned to live a life of suffering, of misery, of ignorance and of constant torture. They are damned to live scantily from today to tomorrow, to be badly fed, badly dressed and badly housed, and, what is worse, they are damned to live so insecurely that any little incident may bring to them the casualty of being "out of work," a casualty that may make a good-for-nothing tramp of the best of them, make prostitutes of their wives and daughters and thieves of their sons. And, queerly enough, while our laws protect property, protect a pair of boots, a sack of flour, or a pair of trousers—while these laws also protect a millionaire and even a murderer—these laws, queerly enough, do not protect an honest laborer who is in need. He has to beg for "charity," or he must starve. If he wants protection, he must commit a crime, steal, rob or become a common drunkard. Then he is "protected"—he is sent to jail or a "house of correction." Truly, this state of things is hell.

Nor is this all. For by the mere fact of being the children of workmen, poor children are, as a rule, condemned to the same fate as that of their parents, except they be saved by a special act of God's grace, by a special stroke of good luck—the children of laborers nowadays are also damned to become laborers. This is a rule, no matter how talented such children may be, the parents are not able to give them the proper care, training and education. As a rule, such children must go to work while they are still very young. They must help sustain the family. They must slave with their parents, brothers and sisters or starve with them.

So the suffering of the working people begins when they are infant babes—in fact, it begins before they are born. The cruel Calvinist dogma of the predestination of people who are to be damned has been actually realized by our working class. And yet if we look closer, there are all the elements near to make a comparative heaven out of this hell. There is plenty of all the things laborers need in every country, and especially in our country—in America.

ery branch of industry, and to every state of the Union."

All of this comes from capitalist greed and forcing a "civilization" upon people who are not yet ready for it. When will the working class of America understand and seize upon the civilization they have made and insure its complete enjoyment to themselves?

Writing from Rome on the political parties of Italy, William E. Curtis says in the Record-Herald that the Socialists are growing more rapidly than any other of the parties. Their vote increased from 76,237 in the elections of 1895 to over 216,000 in 1900, and their progress has been very rapid ever since. The party has sixty members in the Chamber of Deputies.

Protests against six-days' walking or bicycle races are common enough from press and pulpit and such exhibitions are denounced as brutal and injurious to those taking part. But when a workingman labors eighteen hours a day for fifteen days, the same class of habbling humbugs tell a pretty tale about how much money he earned and no protest is heard. Says a dispatch from Toledo:

"In the rush of the construction work on the Lake Shore electric lines many of the linemen did the work of two men every minute of the time that they worked and had the endurance to work for days at a stretch without stopping their work day or night other than to obtain the necessary food to sustain them. It was a race against time to complete the road."

"Some of the men gave an exhibition of endurance which is almost beyond the limit of credence. There were numerous instances where the linemen dropped while at their work, and fell into a deep sleep from which it was almost impossible to wake them until they had slept for a short time. Nature absolutely refused to stand for the enormous strain which was put upon her."

"In one instance one of the men went to sleep while standing on his feet and eating his lunch, leaning against a tree. Neither his fellow workmen nor the gang foreman had the heart to wake him, and the man, utterly weary, slept in this position for five hours, when he was awakened, going back to his work and staying there for another thirty-six hours."

"In one case where a lineman received a rather startling sum in settlement for his week's work the man had been working an eighteen-hour turn each day for fifteen days, and then had started just one week before the date on which the construction was supposed to be completed and worked night and day for the ensuing week without rest or an opportunity to change his clothes."

In the New York Times of December 22 the following item appeared:

"George Hamula, in a suit for \$15,000 damages for the loss of three fingers, which he brought against the Dundee Woolen company of Passaic, N. J., testified before Justice Russell in the Supreme court yesterday that when in the employ of the company three years ago, though he was ONLY TWELVE YEARS OLD at the time, he was com-

elled to work THIRTEEN HOURS A DAY, operating six card machines."

"One day when taking care of the machines he caught his hand in the machinery and three fingers were torn from his hand. He was then getting TWO DOLLARS AND A HALF A WEEK, but after the accident his wages were raised to \$5 and later he was discharged."

You see it was this way: George having lost three fingers, his employers temporarily raised his wages to \$5 to put off any possible suit for damages for which they knew they were liable. Then, though the boy's hand had healed, he could not operate the six machines thirteen hours a day with his old "skill" and he was discharged. Socialists would pension George right away if they were in power; but they would never permit his employment at 12 years old and compel him to work thirteen hours a day.

Is there not enough manhood and womanhood in every county, city and township and ward of this great state to form a branch of the Social Democratic party? Every such branch is a little outpost of the great army of Socialism and Social Reform.

While the laity of the Methodist church stands in open-mouthed wonder at the declarations of the Evanston professor who denies all the "miracles" in the Bible, and the clergy are following their usual course of abusing instead of answering him, a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst of New York, comes along and denies the immortality of the soul. Verily, the brethren are in a distressing predicament. But it all comes from absorption in "other worldlyness" when they should be dealing with the practical problems of the life that now is.

Get away from your snug complacency and learn something of the actual facts of life under the system you vote to maintain.

In three small stuffy rooms on the alley entrance to 185 North Elizabeth street, Chicago, a patient, hard-working mother and five dependent babies are vainly striving to live and keep warm. With some assistance from the county fund they have been able to keep up this uneven contest for the past six months.

While John Nugent lived he earned a fair living as an awning hanger. But he succumbed to the heat last summer. His short sickness quickly took away what small funds were on hand and the sorrowing widow was obliged to call upon the county for burial expenses.

After the death of her husband Lena Nugent took up the fight alone. Her assets were but two strong arms.

Five babies were dependent, from the oldest daughter, aged 12, to the youngest, now but 13 months old. The brave little woman knew that she could not succeed without assistance, and she was compelled to again appeal to the county. This time she was placed on the "ration list," but as for meat, there was none.

The little mother walked for days answering advertisements and searching for work; she was unsuccessful. Occa-

sionally she found washing to do and earned 50 cents.

They said she lived in the cottage at the rear. That is wrong; it is a tumble-down building, and the family occupy but three small rooms, for which the mother pays \$4 per month rent. She in arrears and rent is due again tomorrow. Although her voice trembled when she mentioned the rent falling due and she looked with wistful eyes at her little ones, the mother did not cry, but said she was hopeful of securing work today. "And," she continued, "I do not want to move. I can now send my three eldest children to school. The boys do not mind it, but my girl is not strong. I want them to be educated."

Contractors on public highways in New York stored 1000 pounds of dynamite in a shed in front of the Murray Hill hotel. It made no difference to these get-rich-off-the-public-roads that the law provides that not more than 250 pounds shall be stored in one place. The result was an explosion, the death of 13 persons, some of them killed in their rooms in the hotel, and injury to 200 more. Every day adds to the proof that the most dangerous anarchists are railroad companies and kindred corporations.

Here is a simple proposition from a Socialist standpoint. We would like you to consider it if you are an opponent of Socialism: You agree with us that the people farm the land, build railroads, bridges, mills, machinery, houses, ships, factories, that they weave cloth and make clothing, that they go to nature's storehouse for raw materials and convert them into things necessary and useful for human beings; in short, you agree with us that the people do the things that are necessary to be done to provide food, clothing and shelter for themselves and maintain civilization? You see no objection. Very well. All these things are being done day after day, and the people are doing them. Now, if the people are doing these things, it is plain that they have the ability to do them, isn't it? And it is just as plain that the doing of these things constitutes the business of society—the only business of society worth considering—and that if they were not done there would be no society? If they were not done, the great clam star would shine on overhead, with nothing under it save the silence of the dead. Now for the main question: Do you not see that the things the people are doing now, because they have the ability to do them, they could do just as well under Socialism; and that the fact that they would be done for the benefit of all, instead of for a profit for a few, would add immensely to the morality, the pleasure, the satisfaction and the happiness of the people?

Very few American statesmen retire from office with honor and enjoy the respect of the people in their retirement. There's Richard Olney, former secretary of state, for instance. He is now looking after franchises in behalf of a Massachusetts railroad corporation and doing business with the secretary of war for his employers.

Poor pay and poor food, lack of fresh air and good water, exposure to the poison of bad sanitary conditions, all of which have depressing effects upon the mind and impair the health of the body, are not factors in the improvement of the individual, nor a guarantee for higher development. In addition to these the systematic exploitation of labor undermines the moral and social nature, as well as the health of its victims, and to talk about the improvement of the race while we go on fortifying by law vested rights and corporate greed, which stand directly across the path of progress, evidences a degree of heartlessness and a deviation from moral principles which it was left for gluttonous capitalism to develop among men.

Do you know why it is that, if private enterprise is so much better than corporation and trust enterprise, all the fellows who have any private enterprises left are glad to get into the trust enterprise? Do you? If private enterprise is such a good thing, if that is really the hulk of civilization, if without private enterprise we are bound to go to the demolition how-rows, why is it that everybody don't get into private enterprise? How much farther have we to go? Study Socialism, man, and learn how trivial are the strongest objections that can be made to it.

The law is a strange and contradictory thing—especially the law relating to the killing of human beings. Two children were killed in New Jersey lately, one of them by a railroad corporation, the other by its own father. The same judge tried the case of the man and heard a suit for damages against the railroad corporation in the other. The father who killed his own child was sentenced to be hanged and the railroad corporation was sentenced to pay one dollar damages. The railroad corporation pays a dollar for taking a human life, while the individual forfeits his life. When the former can kill at a dollar a head there is no wonder they are so reckless and indifferent.

Mark Hanna is making strenuous efforts these days to deceive the laboring class into believing he is their friend. But it won't do, Mark; some few of the leaders you would like to provide for in a department of labor are ready for the jobs if you can arrange it, but the rank and file are onto your curves and it won't do.

## Wages and Prices.

Father Ducey, the humanitarian and progressive priest of New York, is after Andrew Carnegie, who said that "any man could get all the work he wanted in this country." Father Ducey, speaking to his people in St. Leo's Catholic church, said: "Andrew Carnegie knew he lied when he said it." He advised his hearers to go about the department stores and attempt to secure work for worthy persons, as he has done. There is no doubt whatever that a man in Father Ducey's position has opportunities for knowing the condition of the people to which Carnegie is a stranger. But, aside from that, every man with eyes to see, knows that the priest is right and that Carnegie lied.

Again, Carnegie uttered another lie when in his address to the Young Men's Christian association of New York he made the statement that "it is one of the most cheering facts of our day that under present conditions the wages of labor tend to rise and the prices of the necessities of life tend to fall."

That there has been any actual rise in wages is being disproven by nearly every bulletin issued from the census bureau, some of which have already appeared in The Herald. And as to the tendency of prices to fall every housekeeper in the land with brain enough to keep a common account and make comparisons knows that the claim is utterly false. Figures carefully compiled for Dunn's Review show that there has been a remarkable advance in the price of the necessities of life since July 1, 1897, when they reached the lowest level in fourteen years. In making the following computations the average per capita consumption is given in the money value of the commodities that are the essentials of individual and family consumption:

	Bread.	Meat.	Dairy and Other stuffs.	and Other food.
Jan. 1, 1896.	\$13.51	\$7.34	\$12.57	\$8.31
Jan. 1, 1898.	13.92	7.52	12.48	8.07
Jan. 1, 1900.	13.25	7.25	12.70	8.20
Jan. 1, 1901.	14.49	8.41	15.56	9.59
Jan. 1, 1902.	20.00	9.67	15.25	8.95
	Clothing.	Metals.	Misc.	Total.
Jan. 1, 1896.	\$14.05	\$11.57	\$12.11	\$70.04
Jan. 1, 1898.	14.15	11.54	12.54	80.42
Jan. 1, 1900.	17.48	18.09	16.31	95.30
Jan. 1, 1901.	15.02	15.81	15.83	96.69
Jan. 1, 1902.	25.55	15.38	16.79	101.59

In the above table:

Breadstuffs include wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, beans and peas.

Meat includes lard and tallow.

Dairy and garden products include, in addition to the usual vegetables, milk, eggs and fruit.

Miscellaneous includes a variety of articles of general consumption which enter into the cost of living for the average family and the other items are self-explanatory.

It will be perceived that instead of having a tendency to fall the prices of the necessities of life show a tendency to jump the other way to the tune of almost 40 per cent.

If it is admitted that in some instances wages are higher than formerly, nobody save the Andrew Carnegie type of moral humbug pretends that wages have anywhere advanced at any such rate to the average worker.

Mr. Carnegie, you would better go way back—to Skibo castle—and sit down!

Our great capitalists look upon the world purely as a matter of business. Deceit, humanity and liberality are parts that do not enter into their makeup. Profit is their only aim in life. To them this earth is simply one great field for investments, the interests of which command all the products of the world.

The objection that is sometimes made that men will not work unless they are paid, and that, therefore, Socialism will not work, looks very funny to the Socialist. It implies that men who do work now are paid, which is not true. They are allowed enough from the values they produce to exist and multiply, but they are not paid. The ordinary working man is not paid; he is simply fed. And what more than the necessary food to keep him in condition to work does the extraordinary—or, rather, the workman—get? Then, again, where or when does Socialism say that the workman will not be paid? Nowhere. On the contrary, it is the only system that proposes that workmen shall be paid, that they shall pay themselves. And when they pay themselves they will get the biggest pay they ever had. What the objectors really mean is that if the working class don't work the parasite class will not be paid. That is quite true.

So-called "hard times" are really only hard on those whose subsistence depends on having work to do. For the poor people the times are always hard. Even now during the era of "unprecedented prosperity" over 1,700 families in Milwaukee receive aid from the county or the Associated Charities. But the wife and daughters of a capitalist do not as a rule leave off attending balls, operas and theaters in their silks, satins and diamonds, on account of "hard times." On the contrary, if times are very hard, then they simply arrange one great amusement extra, and call it a "charity ball." They dance, eat and drink "for the poor."



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## HERALDRIES.

A few days ago in Boston President Schurman, who was a member of the original Philippine commission appointed by McKinley, said in a public address that the United States was bound ultimately to give the Philippines independence. When the report of his speech reached Manila, Gen. Weston said men have been jailed there for saying just what Schurman said, and that any talk of liberty and independence coming from the United States creates unrest among the natives. This throws a flood of light on the kind of liberty the United States armed forces are establishing in the Philippines. They jail men for speaking of liberty and independence and are doing it in the name of "our higher civilization" under the Stars and Stripes. Gen. Weston also says that 50,000 men will be needed there for five years to subjugate the natives and keep them subjugated—for thinking of liberty and independence! Gallant work for the soldiers of Uncle Sam, isn't it?

The retail price of things produced by labor is about four times what the laborer receives for producing them. The producers of things are also the principal consumers. If the consumers get more than one-fourth of what they produce, they do so only by going into debt. And this is exactly what a large percentage of the middle class have done. The millions who have no property eke out a miserable existence on starvation wages; the middle class are in bondage, struggling to save their property, and the millionaires, without an effort, absorb the wealth of all. Such a system is certain to wreck itself. It must make room for one more equitable in the distribution of wealth.

Nobody denies that the principle of co-operation is good. Everybody admits it. Now the practice of a principle that is good requires the employment of all the factors essential to practical success. Co-operation on a national scale in the production and distribution of wealth would bring all these factors into play and would be Socialism. The logical business of government in the world is to accomplish this result. All bad government has been destroyed by co-operating with the few. The only government that will endure will be based on the principle of co-operation for the good of all.

Corporate monopoly is the owner of the system we live under, the master of economic power, hence, also master of political power. The mighty manufacturing, commercial and transportation trusts already formed and forming will not be controlled or regulated by passing a resolution in a town meeting. Neither will they be influenced by any puerile sentimentalism of the "good government" and "good man" order. They are the masters and masters they will remain so long as the system remains.

At the end of the Eighteenth century, Adam Smith, famous economist, said that "the only trades which it seems possible for a joint stock company to carry on successfully, without an exclusive privilege, are such as the banking trade, insurance, a canal, or supplying water for a great city." When one looks over the field of combination today one sees how progress overshadows all limitations. The utopia of today is the reality of tomorrow.

The Socialist party is the political party of labor. There is not one single proposition in its platform that was formulated with any other purpose but to help the laborer and show him the way to freedom and the emancipation of his class from wage slavery. Get in to the political party of labor and become a worker in the cause of human betterment.

To deny that the industrial revolution of the past century has created a class possessing the mastery of productive forces, the potential means of life, as well as a class that is dependent upon the first for the privilege of laboring and living, is to deny the most palpable fact of the century. Go over your history again, and you will discover that the whole of it is a record of class struggle.

If you study this problem of labor, the further you go the more you will get puzzled over it, until you arrive at the Socialist conception of industrial development and understand exactly what Socialism will do. Then the problem will be solved so far as you are concerned. It has been solved as a mental proposition for millions of men the world over.

The question of child labor is attracting widespread attention throughout the country, but why the capitalist papers should have sudden spasms of virtue over it is not altogether clear. The Socialist papers repeatedly and for years have pointed out this growing evil, which is natural to capitalist industry, as for years they have indicated the only remedy for it. The Milwaukee Journal last Saturday night said:

"It appears that all over the country the era of prosperity has not worked a reform in child labor. On the contrary, reports, official and unofficial, indicate that the growing prosperity has resulted in a general crowding of children into shops and factories. The accepted prosperity seems but to feed the greed of parents. The Illinois state factory commission reports the increase in child labor at 39 per cent. This is too large to be wholly credible; yet everyone at all conversant with the facts knows that the employment of child labor has increased where it ought to have decreased. These children ought to have the benefit of improved schools, and should be better schooled and better surrounded at home. The relative increased cost of living may have something to do with this unfortunate state of child labor. While employment is easy to get, wages received do not go as far as formerly. Parents with some people greed increases with opportunity, with the idea of making hay while the sun shines. But whatever the reason, the employment of child labor should be less, not more. Another grave evil is that these children, in most of the states, cannot be employed except through an act of perjury or other fraud on the employers by the parents. The affidavit of the parent clears the employer from legal responsibility and the child is left to the mercy of the parents' whim."

If the Journal will institute a thorough inquiry it will no doubt discover that the child labor capitalist evil is existent nearer home—in Wisconsin as well as Illinois.

The report of the interstate commerce commission says:

"That the leading traffic officials of many of the principal railway lines, occupying high positions and charged with the most important duties, should deliberately violate the statute law of the land, and in some cases agree with each other to do so, that it should be thought necessary to destroy vouchers and to so manipulate the transactions, that hundreds of thousands of dollars should be paid in unlawful rebates to a few great packing houses; that the business of railroad transportation, the most important link one in the country today, paying the highest salaries and holding out the greatest inducements to the most capable men, should to such an extent be operated in open disregard to law must be surprising and offensive to all right-minded persons."

"Equally startling at least is the fact that the owners of these packing houses, many of whom are known throughout the commercial world, should seemingly be eager to augment their aims with the enormous amounts of these rebates which they receive in plain defiance of a federal statute. These facts carry their own comment and nothing said by us can add to their significance."

This comes after more than thirty years of open robbery of every description by corporations. There is no reason why the commission should be surprised; nobody else is. Schwab the Gambler says frankly that his corporation controls the railroads and this has been shown over and over again.

The subservience of the beneficiaries of capitalism to their masters was well illustrated the other day when a Catholic paper at Pittsburgh, the Observer, defended Schwab the Gambler in these words:

"There was no harm in Mr. Schwab's playing in itself or for him. He was at Monte Carlo and doing as Monte Carlo does, so that he did not trouble the public conscience there. He played only a few times and risked only a few thousands of dollars. The fact that he had been made a knight of the Empire is only an outcropping of the latent Puritanism that wants to make the straight and narrow way a good deal straighter and narrower than it is."

There was absolutely no ground for the charge of Puritanism so far as the Socialist criticism of Schwab is concerned. The Observer, be it observed, printed in Schwab's behalf, understands its business, however. Its utterances were evidently inspired in the counting room.

Secretary of State Hay says that in the purchase of the West Indian islands from Denmark this government can negotiate only with the Danish government and NOT WITH ITS SUBJECTS. Certainly. In the process of territorial extension no heed whatever should be given to people. People go with the land and the purchase will be settled by the state department and the crowned head of Denmark.

The idea of the steel trust magnates and capitalists generally is: No protection for the liberty of union men, not even from the government. And that is the idea that underlies the entire system of capitalism. The exploiting class is to be left free to skin the laborer and fatten on the consumers.

"Things are cheap; they were never cheaper." But if you can't put up the price, though they were never so cheap (which is a matter of fact, isn't true), how will you get things? Think of the things you can make compared with the things you can buy.

William Jennings Bryan, of presidential campaign fame, is building a fine country home near Lincoln and earning \$2500 a month on the lecture platform to maintain it. Which suggests that there are better things in life than being President with the chance of being shot at by a crazy man or an anarchist.

John Burns, the Socialist member of Parliament in England, has introduced a bill providing for old age pensions. It proposes to give a pension of five shillings a week to everybody in Great Britain over 65 years. Burns is greatly admired and has many friends in the Commons who, it is said, will support the measure.

Holy Hills of Brooklyn is being sued for \$50,000 for defamation of character by a clergyman who charges him with plagiarism. Defamation seems to be Holy Hills' strong card.

The Fair Committee Meets Every Friday Night

## Shall We Have Peace?

Eugene V. Debs  
in  
The Teller.

There is nothing specially startling about the proceedings or results of the late "Industrial Peace Conference" in New York. The captains of industry are now in practical control of their organized vassals. This has been the policy since the war. The policy was to keep out of politics, to keep out of the union, and while things may run smoothly for a while, when the break comes the organized workers will find that they have their necks in the noose and that the hand of "arbitration" has a good grip at the other end. They are now committed to arbitration, and they'll be damned if they don't! They'll be killed if they do, and they'll be both anyway.

Grover Cleveland is the keystone in the arch of peace. He is now the final word. Ex-officio he is now president of the American Federation of Labor, and Brother Gompers has simply to look wise, occasionally knit his brow, and draw his salary.

The Republican papers now apothecize peace. In a steady stream they enjoin upon his majesty in his new role of "dove of peace."

Cleveland! God! Look upon his puffed and purple jowl, his bulging veins, his blood-shot eyes, his flabby neck that has shrunk in the folds of his every feature nature has marked him as the coarsest cormorant that ever defiled the executive seat of the nation. Look at him, you workers, and then take off your hats and bow in the dust at his feet. All hail the great arbiter of labor.

The black slave lifting his eyes to Lincoln may now dissolve from new. Grover is the mighty Moses of all the races.

In 1864 he traced his love for labor in crimson characters—he commanded the United States regulars to shoot the working class into submission to their pirate masters. This was his glory. He entered the white house poor and emerged a millionaire. This was his civic crown. Well qualified, indeed, is he to sit in supreme judgment between the sleek coyote of capital and the bleating lamb of labor.

Archbishop Ireland is another "neutral" gentleman—a priest to match the politician, and they constitute a charming pair. When an exceptional job of labor feeding is to be done, there always looms a priest, who, sad, meek and pious, rolls his eyes heavenward—and the job is done.

Archbishop Ireland is also a millionaire. His flock have all their treasures in heaven. Verily, I am your shepherd and ye are my nation."

The archbishop is cheek by jowl with "Jim" Hill of the Great Northern. They collaborate and fix things in the North-west. Ireland, making good use of his license as priest, is the smoothest of politicians, and Hill is not slow to catch on. They Hill liberally "endows" as Ireland suggests, and between the two, nothing gets away.

Compare Ireland to Christ! Jesus Christ!! Bishop Potter is still another commanding figure in the neutral element of the peace commission of the Civic federation, the final tribunal of exploited workmen. Who is he? The spiritual director of John Morgan Morgan. Every great tyrant, every colossal robber in history had his spiritual adviser—his man of God to sanctify his crimes. The saintly bishop draws a princely salary. He rules in Morgan's palatial private car. He touches elbows with the upper capitalists and the so-called professional lackeys, and with no others. Every now and then he drops a "radical" utterance. This is promptly snatched and spread by

the capitalist press. The people are amazed—they boid their breath, and applaud—and they are fixed for another season.

On every vital issue Bishop Potter is with the capitalist class. His interest is secure in his crosby.

Rather Morgan, Hanna and Schwab straight through Cleveland, Ireland and Potter by arbitration.

In the entire "neutral" element there is not a single member whose material interests are not identified with and controlled by the capitalist class.

A mighty class struggle is convulsing society. No living man, or can be, "neutral" or "disinterested." He is on one side or the other—if not for freedom, he is for slavery of the working class. They are deadly enemies. A chemical law forbids fire and water to mingle; even at the bidding of a peace conference. By the same analogy, an economic law forbids peace between workers and capitalists. It is the law of development and could it be suspended the spirit of humanity would be paralyzed.

I have had some experience with the Civic federation, and want to say to workmen and women that if they would have homes built of gold bricks the "civic" adjuster of the capitalist class will take the contract to house them all.

As for the American labor movement it is being practically emasculated. It is being reduced to its increasing impotency by its growth in numbers. In its present form it is encouraged, not resisted by the masters.

The brotherhoods of railway employees have the complete sanction and support of the corporations, and their chief officers are dined by President Roosevelt.

By the way, en passant, the President is announcing the appointment of representatives of the United States government for the coming coronation of King Edward—also for posts of honor at the launching of Emperor Wilhelm's private yacht.

Now get ready your Sunday clothes, you sovereign sons of toil, for in these stateside social functions, labor, the maker of all kings and presidents, will surely sparkle in the grand parade and carve the "possum" at the banquet.

If the war, on presentment, the President has the political heelers and steers. They sound the alarm when "politics" ventures in the ante-room. At the very mention of Socialism the heeler issues the warning note.

"The goblins 'll git ye if ye don't watch out."

The national officers, as a rule, are in close touch with the captains of industry and guarantee are given that the trades union movement will stick to its honored policy of letting politics alone.

How Hanna and Ireland, Morgan and Schwab (fresh convert to union labor) must dig into each other's ribs and snort when they retire from the footlights.

Every labor union in the land ought to denounce and repudiate the New York secret of the alleged reduction of wages. The whole labor movement must be rescued and readjusted to grapple with the conditions of today, or it is doomed to disintegration.

Peace, peace, there is no peace! There is no fact in which capitalist masters and working slaves can abide in peace. The war is on, and the only way will be fiercer until the crash comes and wage-slavery is wiped from the earth.

Not until the last held by slavery is conquered by freedom can peace prevail. Then only will the multiplied millions who are subdued "the earth and produce its wealth come to their own."

Onward, comrades; onward to the goal! EUGENE V. DEBS.

## MAILLY'S NEWS BUDGET FROM THE BAY STATE.

Teamsters' Strike in Boston Compels Police to Work Overtime—Sweeping Injunction Issued—What the Socialist Members are Doing.

(Special Correspondence.)

A strike of less than 200 teamsters has kept the police working overtime, filling the columns of the daily papers with reports, truthful and otherwise, of the acts of strikers and their sympathizers, and set the people of Boston by the ears during the past week. The crisis came yesterday when Judge Braley of the Superior court granted a temporary injunction against the teamsters, forbidding them from interfering with the business of the firm in controversy by interference with the affairs of the employees of the company while they are in the performance of their business duties, or in any other way that might be construed as detrimental to the interests of the company. Along with this comes a new departure in such matters. One firm of master teamster has also been served with a notice to answer charges in the prayer for an injunction for having taken the business from the transportation company in dispute.

### INJUNCTION AROUSES BOSTON.

The injunction is a sweeping one, and its terms have aroused the trades unionists of Boston as nothing has done in years. It practically prevents the union men from doing anything whatsoever, whether peaceable or forcible, to prevent non-union men taking their places. More than this, it seeks to enforce individual liability for damages on every member of the union for any damage done to the property of the company during the strike, whether committed by union members or not. The hearing for the permanent injunction comes off on Monday, and the court will be called upon either to affirm or repudiate the decision of the House of Lords in England last year, holding unions financially responsible for damages resulting through a strike. This is the famous decision which established a new precedent in English law and which threw the unions of England practically into a panic. This was somewhat similar to the injunction granted in the strike at Ansonia, Connecticut, during the machinists' strike last year. In the present case, it is claimed that it does not matter whether the member who has property taken any part in the acts forming the basis of damages done, he is responsible for the acts of his fellow members or any sympathizers. The counsel for the company asserts that the members of the unions who have property have to reimburse for any loss the company may have sustained through the strike.

Those who have done more than anything else to obstruct the progress of the Brine teams have been the drivers of other teams who, skilled in the art of

driving, have blocked the streets whenever a Brine team appeared and prevented passage. All this has kept the police very busy, and they are working harder than they have in years. Much indignation has been caused by the reckless behavior of the police, who have in many instances completely lost their heads and clubbed or beaten innocent bystanders or passersby. Instead of preserving the peace, the police have done more to excite the people and bring about disorder, and in several cases their behavior nearly caused a riot. They have also acted as freight haulers at different times, but the protests against this were so strong and numerous, they had to stop.

On Thursday the police board took a hand and issued a special order to the police to arrest all those who made "loud noises" against the employees of the Brine company. This resulted in thirteen men and boys, mostly the latter, being arrested on Friday for yelling "scab" at the nonunion men; and we work those arrested were union men or in any way directly identified with the strike.

### SOCIALISTS DEMAND INQUIRY.

While the number of employees involved in the struggle is not large, yet it is remarkable what a sensation it causes aroused. Not only are the unions aroused, but the general public has taken a great interest in the affair; and all the blame for the disturbance is laid at the door of the Brine company. The men believe that by allowing this company the privilege of being the only transportation firm in Boston to have nonunion men, they lay the way open for a complete breakdown of the union, and the complete destruction of the agreement just signed.

It is not definitely known yet what immediate action the union men of Boston will take on the conduct of the police and the injunction. They will probably wait until the court renders its decision on the bearing for permanent injunction, and it is believed that should the courts decide against the men, as is altogether probable, it will cause more of the trades unionists to change their minds as to the infallibility of the judges on the bench.

Judge Braley granted the temporary injunction, is a Republican from Fall River, and his name is associated with many labor disputes in that locality.

As the police of Boston are within the metropolitan district under the control of the state, it is probable that the Socialist representatives will demand an inquiry into the conduct of the police during the strike. It is also likely that the Socialists of Boston will try and hold a mass meeting to protest against the injunction and the police and co-operate with the trades unions denouncing the outrageous proceeding that have again emphasized the subservience of the political powers that be to the capitalist class.

The introduction of bills in the Legislature goes merrily on. Among the multitude of measures those of the Socialist representatives stand out as the only ones that really propose doing anything practical to improve the condition of the working class, to provide wider scope for the exercise of political liberty, and to increase the means of social enjoyment.

Carey has introduced bills during the week raising the age of compulsory school attendance from 14 to 16 and to 18. These are the bills which involve the child-labor question, upon which Carey has made a fight since he first en-

## The Class Struggle.

News of the  
Labor Movement  
Throughout  
the World.

John Mitchell was re-elected president of the United Mine Workers at Indianapolis.

The Trades and Labor Assembly of Massillon, O., dedicated its new Labor temple on December 29.

The bootmakers at the Chesapeake and Ohio shops, Huntington, W. Va., went on strike on January 6.

A. F. of L. officials are said to be devising a plan to combining the various women's labor leagues as auxiliaries.

The Retail Clerks' International union issued twenty-one charters to new locals during December, with a total membership of 1000.

The photo-engravers and stereotypers and electotypers have formed trade district branches under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical union.

A Washington dispatch says that the laborers employed in the government departments are soon to be brought into the civil service under presidential orders.

An increase has been made in wages by the Pennsylvania Railroad company to conductors, brakemen, firemen, engineers and flagmen of from 1 to 2 cents an hour.

It is an old saying that a worthless thing is never counterfeited. The principles of Indianapolis now have a suit on hand against two firms for using counterfeit union labels.

The Lumber Workers of South Bend, Ind., are engaged in a prolonged struggle for the recognition of their union and declare their intention of remaining faithful to the end.

The differences of long standing between the Metal Polishing union and the Pipe Manufacturing company have been satisfactorily adjusted and the establishment is now unionized.

The board of control of the Texas penitentiary has decided to buy 2500 acres of cane land and set the convicts at work on it, thus removing convict competition from other industries.

Illinois Central railroad will substitute a telephone system for telegraphs, and if the experiment proves successful other roads will do the same. High-priced telegraphers will be abolished.

Elevated railway magnates in New York and Chicago are discussing the advisability of introducing automatic ticket sellers and takers. A small army of men would be thrown out of work.

Longshoremen of Hoboken censured President Keefe for mixing up with Hanna's "peace conference," and demand that he busy himself for securing amity with the dock workers of Europe.

The workmen in Denmark are passing through a very serious crisis, as many of them are unemployed and the masters are making use of this crisis in order to increase the hours of work and to reduce wages.

The glassworkers of the Eagle Glass company at Wellsburg, W. Va., have notified the national headquarters of a strike on account of an alleged reduction of wages. About 300 men and boys are involved.

The engineers at the electric lighting and power plant of the Terre Haute Electric company quit in sympathy with the striking street car men, but non-union engineers were quickly secured and put to work.

The joint committee of the Mississippi Legislature, appointed for the investigation of the state prison, has reported gross mismanagement in the renting of the state's convicts and collections of funds for their hire.

In New Orleans the machinists, blacksmiths and helpers and street railway employees succeeded in having their working hours reduced, and other trades are busy in the same direction and there is much enthusiasm among laborers.

Some masons at Kolberg, Germany, had hooded some blacklegs who were coming to take their place in a strike. The trades unionists have been prosecuted and sentenced to sentences of imprisonment ranging from three years to three weeks.

For the first time in the state's history, the Pennsylvania mine laws have been translated into English for the benefit of the mine employees, and will be distributed free to each. They are printed in Polish, Magyar, Italian, Slavish, Russian and Lithuanian.

Cigarmakers of New York have called for a conference of the local trade unions of the metropolis for the purpose of taking action regarding the unauthorized participation of labor officials in the "peace conference" with Hanna, Schwab and other capitalists.

John H. Sullivan of St. Louis, a general organizer of the American Federation of Labor, has been compelled to cease his efforts to organize negro laborers of Meridian, Miss., into local unions, owing to a warning signed by the mayor and "twenty-one prominent business men."

The union trouble between a few Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern shop work-

men and the company at Washington, Ind., grew into a general strike, involving 250 men, who are members of the American Federation of Labor. The prospects are that the entire shops will be tied up.

Trouble in the carpenters' brotherhood is in a chaotic state. By a majority vote Secretary McGinnis was suspended, but the minority claims a two-thirds vote is necessary. On the proposition of holding a convention the factions are again lined up, and it looks very much as though a split is imminent.

Thomas Barrett, president of the Stationary Firemen's association of Pennsylvania, has issued an address to the members of the organization, in which he states that the association will be continued intact and that the members in the anthracite region are not at liberty to join the United Mine Workers.

The Indiana Supreme court on January 15, in affirming a lower court judgment, held that an employer cannot by an contract he may make with his workmen relieve himself from duties and liabilities which the law expressly imposes upon him. The decision was rendered in a master's suit for damages on account of injury.

The differences that have existed between the coal miners and operators in the Northern Columbia district for the last eight months, and which have kept 800 men idle, were settled and the men will go to work. There are still minor matters at three small mines at Nerley and Newhouse pending, but an early settlement is looked for.

The carpetlayers of Pittsburgh and Allegheny have prepared a scale of wages and placed the same in the hands of the leading carpet dealers of the two cities. The rates are to run for a week, for \$18 for layers and from \$21 to \$24 for season men. This is a uniform advance of \$3 for the class of workmen mentioned. More than half of the employers signed the new scale.

William Sayward, secretary of the National Association of Builders of New York, makes the announcement that having submitted his plan of arbitration of building strikes to individual members of the building trades unions and employers' organizations, he has now arranged to submit it to the organizations themselves. His plan contemplates a court of arbitration, with paid officers for the settlement of labor disputes.

More than half of the jewelry made in this country is manufactured in the Attleborough of Massachusetts. Practically all of the jewelry made in the United States is turned out in New England, in the city of Providence, the Attleborough and the town of Mansfield. Nearly 60,000 people are directly and indirectly interested in the manufacture of jewelry. Altogether there are something over 250 factories for the making of jewelry in these four towns, and individual members of which runs into the millions of dollars in value annually.

Traffic was suspended on the street car lines at 7 o'clock January 20 at Terre Haute, Ind. A mass meeting was addressed by Eugene V. Debs and State President Van Horne of the Mine Workers. There was no violence in the city, but an Interurban mail car was stoned at Steeleville, between Terre Haute and Brazil. No one was injured, but the car was badly damaged. The strikers appeared a wage scale which was submitted to the Electric company. Mayor Stead issued a proclamation forbidding the assembling of persons along the railroad tracks.

There is a strike at Gibraltar among the blacksmiths employed in the docks. The men demand a day and a half for night work and the contractors will give time and a quarter. There are rumors of importing Englishmen to do the work; in that case the fitters and boiler-smiths will strike at once, and the contractors cannot import men enough to do all these men's work. The men ask us to intimate to English workers the fact of the dispute being in progress, and hope they will not be induced to go over to help the contractors to defeat their fellow workers.

The Modern Order of Bees, recently formed in Dayton, O., by union-smashing capitalists and their duped workers, as well as meddling preachers and small business people, has spread to Chicago and other Western cities, and the men people are keeping an eye on it. The obligation that candidates are required to pledge them "to discourage labor unions inasmuch as they interfere with our rights as free American citizens," and to acknowledge that "the interests of capital are identical with the interests of the people."

There seems to be trouble among the teamsters. Forty-two delegates met in Philadelphia and formed the Teamsters' National union, having seceded from Team Drivers' International union in cause employers were admitted to membership in the latter body.

Spies in the Unions.

Edward Boyce, president of the Western Federation of Miners, has issued a statement from a mine worker who sympathizes strongly with organized labor, and who, although a member of the Mine Owners' association, does not approve of the attempts that are being made to destroy labor organizations. "I can inform you," the mine owner writes to Boyce, "that your union is honey-combed with spies, who will try to break them the counterpart of other spy schemes, claiming that the spies are in Butte, Rosalia and elsewhere on account of stock jobbing, but the real intent is the suppression of your unions. The Mine Owners' association which extends over the continent where ever mining is carried on, as well as England and other parts of Europe, realize that your organization is getting too strong and will have to be checked, and they have outlined and are putting in operation a system to accomplish the object. They realize that they cannot cripple the federation by making the fight on one place, such as Roseland, but will work at all other localities in sympathy wherever possible." Boyce's friend says the working forces are to be reduced to every effort made to create a large plus of unemployed miners. When the idle men become restless it will be easy matter to create confusion and discord, force strikes and lockouts and break the union. In an editorial following the exposure of the Miners' Magazine, President Boyce calls upon the miners of the West to join the Socialist party and combat the whole brood of capitalist union-smashers. The miners will hold their annual convention in Denver in May, when there will be action taken to meet the game of the bosses. Eugene V. Debs, as announced some time ago in The Herald, has been invited and accepted an invitation to present to deliver an address.

We have postal cards printed for use of the workers in getting new subscribers. Send in your order.

### PAY NOTHING FOR FRANCHISES.

In the price to be paid for the plant nothing shall be included on account of the future earning capacity or good will, or of exclusive privileges derived from rights in public streets, nor anything for or on account of the patronage or business given to the corporation owning the plant by the municipality making the purchase.

The other two bills renew the fight that MacCartney has made since entering the House for more liberal Sunday game laws. The present laws give a monopoly of hunting and fishing to the wealthy classes by prohibiting hunting and fishing on Sunday, which is the only time when workmen have an opportunity to go into the woods and along the river banks and enjoy themselves. MacCartney maintains a long an citizens do not disturb the public welfare, their method of recreation should not be proscribed. With this in view, MacCartney's bills seek to repeal all laws against fishing and hunting.

Representative Carey has been away from the National Committee meeting; but the interests of the Socialist party under the gilded dome.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

Boston, Mass., Jan. 25, 1902.



... By ..  
to Atterbury.

based on social privilege and antagonism based on property.

• • •

Rodbertus further declared that "An the productivity of social labor increases, the wages of the laboring classes constitute an ever-decreasing portion of the national product." This also is a postulate of Socialism and is more fully stated by Marx, who says: "With the continually decreasing numbers of the magnates of capitalism, who usurp and monopolize all the surplus value of the labor of the form of production, there is an accompanying increase in the mass of misery, of oppression, of bondage, of degradation, of exploitation." I need not point out that millions of laboring men, who ignorantly scout the ideas of Socialism, know that they are not making the same rate of material progress as the rich. In the United States today less than 352,000 families own over 40 per cent. of its wealth, while 12,900,000 families own only 35 per cent. And the United States census for 1900 shows that nearly 33,000,000 families in the country, less than four and a half millions are free owners of farms or homes. Whether we, as a people boastful of our institutions, like it or not, the truth is that the wage-workers of our country are rapidly being segregated into a permanent hereditary class, without property and hopelessness. And the palliatives which "reforming politicians" on the one hand and the hivelings of capitalism offer in the way of relief, on the other, are wholly absurd and inadequate.

"A man in poverty," Robertson says, "does not depend so much upon what he has absolutely, as upon the relation in which his possessions stand to those of others about him, and upon the extent to which they allow him to share in the progress of the age. When the mass of humanity were unable to read, a man was poor, not oppressed; but when he was unable to purchase books, but a German who today has not the means to do so is both poor and oppressed." The private ownership and monopoly of land and capital "under the changed form of production, with an ever-increasing division between the laborer and the wants and the means of supplying them, is the procuring cause of crises, misery and degradation. The wants of civilized men increase, and when the system now tottering and crumbling the world over forces civilized men to suicide and crime, it is because they have no other choice. In the old times, the laborer had no choice, their condition is relatively much worse than that of their forefathers a hundred or a thousand years ago. Robertson saw clearly that the wage system is oppressive and affords to the workman no bare subsistence only. He said that the laborer has no choice, but that he must produce a certain amount of a perishable merchandise, namely, his labor. If he have neither land nor capital to employ his labor, he must offer it to those who can make use of it. How much will they give for his services? Forced by competition to produce at the lowest possible cost, they will give no more than what is absolutely necessary, but what is strictly necessary is what is needed to enable the laborer to subsist and to perpetuate his kind."

This is a fair statement of the case. It throws the blame where blame belongs, namely, on the system of competition, which is based on the ridiculous assumption that competition can be super-  
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The pastor of St. Paul's Episcopal church at Rochester, N. Y., Dr. R. H. Converse, delivered an address on Socialism the other day in which he said:

"I wish to speak to you of Socialism as a protest and as a programme, and one of my purposes in addressing you is to try to arouse you to the fact that Socialism is a live subject and one with which we have to do.

"The protest may be stated as the great and growing cry going up from the great and growing masses of the world who are oppressed and who are against the organized industrial systems of the time. It is a protest that has its basis in reason, in justice and in fact. The attitude of the toiling masses of the world has changed and this protest has been gathering volume and force, we may say, since the outbreak of the protest, we notice a spirit of determination that has not been there in the past, and we ask ourselves what it is that has brought about this change."

"The spread of intelligence is the first cause of the protest. In the past the toilers of the world have felt the injustice of their condition; now, they realize

ize its injustice and their power as well. The second cause is found in the great industrial revolution that has come about in Europe and this country, which, while it has intended the sufferings of the masses, has also brought them to see that there is a remedy.

"Common ownership of all instruments of wealth production, common management of all instruments of wealth production, common distribution of national products, and the common extension of private property were named as four of the planks in the platform of Socialism. Private property would be the product of individual industry; there would be more of it, but a more equal distribution."

A Japanese workman in Chicago who attempted to take his life because he could not make a living made this statement:

"I am heart-broken. When I came to this country, not so long ago, I thought that I would be able to get along and make my own way in the United States. I was of the opinion that anyone could get along in this country. I have failed in my attempt to get along in this country. I have been unsuccessful and have suffered a heavy disappointment. I am the only one thing for me to do, and I have decided to do it. I will commit suicide by taking my own life."

**Please address all business communications to The Herald and make all drafts or money orders payable to Victor L. Berger.**

The great majority of people are not giants, but they have a right to travel through God's earth, to cultivate its soil, to breathe its air, to work, reap reward.

Admirable for Propaganda among Germans.  
Send Orders to 614 State St., Milwaukee  
**A BOOK THAT WILL BE READ.**



## SOCIALIST PARTY NEWS.

## National Secretary on Finances.

We printed in last week's Herald a brief reference to Secretary Greenbaum's report to the national committee, together with that portion referring to the work of Charles H. Vall, so far as the latter spoke for himself. Knowing that our readers will be interested in what Comrade Greenbaum has to say in his report concerning the finances of the party, that part is given below. The secretary deals with the subject as follows:

"According to the report of the credentials committee at the unity convention, the delegates in that body held credentials for almost 7000 members. It has been able to ascertain, through the various states to the extent of accounting for 6657 members in August. During August we received dues for only 821 members, or about 8 per cent. of our total membership based upon a very low estimate. The state committees of California, Connecticut, New York, and Washington paid dues for 71 members. During this month our funds became so exhausted, owing to extraordinary expenses incident to the opening of headquarters, that on August 23 we were obliged to issue an appeal for donations to all state and local organizations. Had it not been for a timely donation of \$100.00 by Comrade Geo. D. Herron, we would have found ourselves seriously embarrassed for the means of continuing our work.

"During September, the membership increased to 6867. We received dues for 2084 members or about 43 per cent. The state committees of California, Kentucky, New York and Washington paid dues in September for 2304 members; the non-organized states paying dues for 680 members. During September the dues of the office increased so much that I was obliged to engage two stenographers, and the expenditures for postage, printed matter, stationery and the general conduct of business increased proportionately. In October, the membership increased to 7309. We received dues for 3781 members or about 52 per cent. The state committees of California, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, Indiana and Nebraska paid dues in October for 2694 members; the non-organized states paid dues for 1087 members. During this month the volume of business became so great that the accompanying expenses increased proportionately that we became seriously embarrassed for funds, and we were obliged on October 23 to write all of the state committees for immediate remittances. Our financial difficulties at this time were partially relieved by the payment of convention pledges and the donation of \$100.00 by Comrade J. A. Wayland of Girard, Kas. During November the membership increased to 7774. We received dues for 7032 members or about 90 per cent. The state committees of California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Texas and Washington paid dues in November for about 5098 members; the non-organized states paying dues for 1004 members. During November the volume of business increased so much that I was obliged to engage an additional office clerk, making three thus employed, while all of the incidental expenses of conducting business increased proportionately. In addition to this we had to meet heavy printing bills contracted in October, and altogether the financial strain was so heavy that on November 21, we again faced a money stringency that obliged us to write some of the state committees for relief.

"In December the membership increased to 8567. We received dues for 5239 members or about 61 per cent., which was almost 33 per cent. less than we received in November. The state committees of Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon and Pennsylvania paid dues in December for 4262 members; the balance of the party paying dues for 877 members. Notwithstanding that unitary dues decreased about 33 per cent. in December late reports which I have received from some of the state secretaries indicate that our party on January 1, 1902, had 9104 members, an increase of 337 members in said month.

"The balance of the total receipts, amounting to \$1702.15, was received on account of the following: National dues, \$902.85; donations, \$522.60; convention pledges, \$180; accounts due Springfield N. E. C., \$105.40; miscellaneous receipts, \$31.62. A condensed statement of our expenditures is as follows: Equipment headquarters, \$130.70; rent, \$136.37; printing, \$370.46; national secretary, \$416.65; stenographers and clerks, \$224.21; Charles H. Vall, \$148.65, leaving us with a balance on hand January 1 of \$60.88."

On the matter of assets and liabilities the report says:

"Upon the conclusion of the unity convention we assumed the liabilities of the Springfield faction, amounting to \$508.27. Of this amount we have paid \$129.70, leaving a balance of indebtedness amounting to \$458.57. On October 23 we assumed the liabilities of the Chicago faction, amounting to \$982.45. Since August 1 we have incurred obligations in addition to the before-mentioned amounting to \$730.41. Of this sum \$130 is due to Mrs. M. B. East of Indianapolis for her report on the convention. Owing to the inaccuracy and incompleteness of her report we were obliged to have an additional report made by Comrade W. E. McDermott of Chicago, who took the convention proceedings in shorthand. Comrade McDermott's bill amounted to \$462.15, but he donated one-half of his bill to the party, leaving us in his debt to the amount of \$231.07.

"The balance of indebtedness incurred by us since August 1, amounting to \$369.33, is due Charles H. Vall, part of which is for salary and the rest for money advanced by him to pay railroad fares. The gross amount of our indebtedness on January 1, 1902, was \$2171.43. The total amount of our assets was \$538.04, of which over \$500 is for debts due by various state committees to the Springfield faction, and the balance on account of money due the present national organization for due stamps. Deducting our assets from the gross liabilities leaves us with a net total indebtedness of \$1335.59.

As to delinquent revenues the report goes on to say:

"It will be apparent to your committee that there has been a serious delinquency from the very first, in what may be properly regarded as the legitimate sources of our income. From the date of the Unity convention up to October 1, we received no national dues whatever from Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania. The amount which we should have received from these states in August and September based upon their representation at the convention, was \$227.60.

"The state committees of Iowa, New Jersey, Texas and Missouri began paying dues in November, although we had previously received \$2.40 direct from Iowa.

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calls in Texas and \$0.35 direct from Iowa in Missouri. The amount of dues which we should have received from the four states mentioned during August, September and October, based on their representation at Indianapolis, was \$107.70. Massachusetts did not begin paying dues until December. According to its representation at Indianapolis it should have received from this state during August, September, October and November, the sum of \$79.20.

Wisconsin has not paid us dues since the Unity convention, and according to her representation should have paid during the five months preceding January 1, the sum of \$133.25. The total amount of dues which we should have received from August 1 to January 1, based on the Indianapolis representation (and not including the increase of 50 per cent. in membership since then), was \$1086.25. Deducting the total amount actually paid, \$692.85, leaves a deficiency of \$471.40. If we include the increase in membership, we should have received in the five months \$1858.70. Deducting \$902.85 actual receipts from this amount, leaves a deficiency of \$955.85 in the five months sufficient to have paid one-half of the party indebtedness."

## State Organization Completed.

The referendum vote to determine the choice between Comrades Seidel and Brockhausen for the state committee, resulting in the selection of the last named, is given below:

Branch.	Location.	Seidel.	Brockhausen.
1.	Milwaukee	12	7
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100.	Milwaukee	12	16

The vote on officers of the state committee shows E. H. Thomas elected secretary; G. Richter, treasurer, and J. Doerflinger, literary agent. The vote in detail follows:

Branch.	Location.	Thom.	Rich.	Doerf.
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## Social Democratic Forum.

In an interesting paper on "Race Culture," which called out at its close an animated discussion, Dr. H. C. Richter, at the Forum meeting last Sunday night had the following to say on economic environment:

"On the first page of the world's history we see primitive man with his inherent instinct of self-preservation, prompted by his bodily wants, and taught by his environment, wrenching his food from the universe, defending himself against the wild beasts, with crude weapons, fashioned after the natural weapons of the beasts, imitating claws, teeth, stings and even venom. This shows one of the stages for existence."

"We next see his weapons turned against one of his own species. This shows another stage for existence—competition. The battle spread from individual to clan, from clan to tribe, and finally nations were involved in warfare."

"The three kinds of struggle for existence are represented:

"1st. That of the individual for any existence at all.

"2d. That of the individual with another individual (competition).

"3d. That of the individual or race with outside forces—economic."

"The warrior that conquers all of these struggles proves himself fit indeed."

"Experience taught man the wisdom of procuring shelter for his old age; love prompted him to provide for his family. He began to acquire property. He began to hoard that. Property and money were loved for their own sake as well as for their original use. The profit system by which goods are turned from one hand to another, takes, interest, came to be."

"Men began to speculate with money they OWNED and money they OWED; rent, profit, taxes, interest, came to be things to be figured. The fit united against the less fit; corporations sprang into existence."

"A corporation may be defined as a heartless business organism that assures its composing members of larger marginal dividends with less responsibility. Heaven and earth are being ransacked for means by which the resources nature provides for her children may be monopolized and turned into substantial profit for the few in the trust. The corporations in turn are being consumed by the trusts and we are fast approaching a one-master system divided into two classes, one holding and controlling all the necessities of life, and the means of making a livelihood, the other to whom the use of these means offers the only possibility of making a living; still further enslaving itself by the competition of its members in their anxiety to obtain work."

"Man, by virtue of his reason and knowledge, has to a great extent bettered his physical environment, and by a process of evolution, the social must follow the economic environment. Co-operation must follow competition. The tools and materials of production, once the producers, are already owned collectively by the several stockholders of companies and trusts, though they are operated for private gain, for no stockholder owns any one particular material."

"Labor, too, is being consumed and tends to become common. The working proprietor is being superseded by a collective group of laborers. Organized labor is concentrating labor. When the means of production are held collectively by the trusts, and labor is collective, in order to assure these means of production to all, society must be substituted for the capitalist owners."

"Labor, too, is being consumed and tends to become common. The working proprietor is being supers